10 Global ayahuasca

An entrepreneurial ecosystem

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This chapter addresses the business of ayahuasca. In approaching ayahuasca as a burgeoning industry linked to the ayahuasca diaspora – the spreading of its use beyond Amazonia – I will discuss its emergence through entrepreneurism arising amid local contexts and participants. My analysis of how the ayahuasca industry has developed in only a few decades from an obscure practice into a cosmopolitan capitalist endeavor is examined through a case study in the Tambopata Province in Peru. It also suggests that small-scale entrepreneurism has contributed toward shaping ayahuasca's international popularity. This chapter further contemplates the actual and potential impact that ayahuasca businesses have on South American indigenous and local peoples whose expertise and practices have long been the hallmark of ayahuasca practices, and raises questions of South American postcolonialism and its legacy of imperialism.[2] As such, this analysis provides an anthropological approach toward understanding the emergence and development of entrepreneurship, and makes contributions to literatures on postcolonialism, globalization, Amazonia, and ayahuasca.

Entrepreneurism, the processes of initiating and enterprising one's own business or organization, emerges all around us, and mostly proliferates in potential business settings that reflect untapped or high-demand markets that can accommodate new investments and start-up companies. The Amazon Basin is no exception to this global phenomenon. In fact, entrepreneurial businesses have long been operating in its midst, particularly since the seventeenth century, via strong colonial trade networks in animal skins, timber, vanilla, cacao, and later, quinine, rubber, and other commodities that propelled personal business pursuits (Cleary, 2001; Alexiades, 2009). A general pattern of exporting natural resources was well established by the nineteenth century and has markedly shaped the economic and political realties of Latin America today (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003). Many of these entrepreneurial businesses benefitted from colonial discourses of primitivism and wildness that still pervade popular views about Amazonia (Taussig, 1987). Indeed, it was often traders who perpetuated myths of danger so as to keep other entrepreneurial competition away (Taussig, 1987).[3]

Overview

Increasingly, the majority of people who live in Lowland South America reside

(Padoch et al., 2008). Amazonia is home to several large cities, including Manaus (a Free Trade Zone) and Belem – each with a population exceeding two million – alongside others, like Iquitos and Satarem, with populations in the hundreds of thousands. This also means that rural areas have become further linked to urban areas (Peluso, 2015) and also attract increasing economic interests. For instance, in rural and peri-urban parts of Amazonia, ecotourism and other tourist-related activities, alongside the environmental economy, have flourished in the last few decades and are growing exponentially (Peluso & Alexiades, 2005). For example, in 1989, $150,000,000 was spent in Manaus in hotel construction, with tourism being the largest source of income in the state of Amazonas (Veseth, 2002).

Ayahuasca tourists increasingly visit Amazonian cities and rural areas. Such tourism is part of adventure and/or international tourism, whereby individuals and groups travel for the opportunity to take the brewed mixture of *Banisteriopsis caapi* and *Psychotria* or various other admixtures. Ayahuasca holds great fascination for travelers, particularly because of its potential for providing hallucinatory visions that can be used to diagnose and heal illness, as well as to provide psychotherapeutic benefits (Trichter, 2010), alongside its association with romanticized and exoticized images of Amazonia in the popular imagination (Ramos, 1987; Conklin, 1997). Ayahuasca rituals, whereby ayahuasca is administered by an *ayahuasquero* (individuals who use ayahuasca, including some shamans), have long been practiced locally in Amazonia and its surrounding Andean environments by indigenous people and mestizos (Dobkin de Rios, 1970; Taussig, 1987; Gow, 1994; Beyer, 2010; Luna, 2011; Calavia Sáez, 2014); and, since the 1930s, these rituals have also been integrated into popular expanding religious forms through Santo Daime, Barquinha, and the União do Vegetal (UDV) in Brazil (Labate, Macrae, & Goulart, 2010).

With the advent of ayahuasqueros traveling abroad and the export of ayahuasca itself, ayahuasca tourism has assumed international proportions, and ayahuasca seekers and tourists are no longer restricted to drinking this hallucinogenic beverage *in situ*. The possibilities for participating in ayahuasca ceremonies or consuming it individually have been mounting (Labate & Cavnar, 2014). Now more readily available outside of local or regional Amazonian settings, ayahuasca experience-seeking is a global trend (Alexiades, 2002; Winkelman, 2005; Tupper, 2008; 2009; Labate, Cavnar, & Barbira Friedman, 2014). As such, ayahuasca is now replicated or integrated into new forms of practice in places like Australia (Gearin, Chapter 6 in this volume), Canada (Tupper, 2011), the United States (Trichter, 2010; Harris & Gurel, 2012), the Netherlands (Groisman, 2001), Spain, Germany (Balzer, 2005), as well as countries in Africa (Greenfield & Droogers, 2001; Sobiecki, 2013), Asia, and elsewhere (Labate & Jungaberle, 2011).

Overall, in the last decade, ayahuasca ceremonies and retreats have been offered frequently enough for the opportunity to be considered commonplace (Davidov, 2010; Fotiou, 2010). I suggest that until recently, ayahuasca, as a potential industry, has mostly remained untapped because of its spiritual and religious uses that may be seen as antithetical to modernity, alongside its variable legal status. Its temporary haven as an unexploited market is also linked to a general interpretation

of the ayahuasca experience as being sacred and therefore outside of the realm of capitalism. For instance, its existence as a practice is often negated as having anything to do with money (Peluso, forthcoming). Prior to the international focus on rainforests and the creation of national parks and reserves, tourism to Amazonia was steady and in some cases lagging. For some time, ayahuasca had been rather protected from an onslaught of attention and the unleashing of its own marketing potential. However, for the last two decades, the emerging position of the ayahuasca experience as a potential income source, both locally and internationally, can no longer be ignored. Ayahuasca tourism has ignited the potential economic business lure ablaze with local, national, and international interests in ayahuasca as part of broader sets of globalization processes.

Ayahuasca economies

I would like to first distinguish between ayahuasca as part of a local economy and ayahuasca as a form of entrepreneurism. Economically, shamans and ayahuasqueros have long been participating in various forms of exchange that have generally compensated them for their time, skills, and talents. They have tended to peoples outside of their communities, cities, and countries. Indeed, shamans from "afar" are often perceived as being more powerful, and therefore people tend to travel great distances to cure more serious illnesses or social problems (Taussig, 1987). As healers and sorcerers, ayahuasqueros have always been integral to their local and regional economies, yet systems of reciprocity and tendencies toward egalitarianism, whereby peoples' livelihoods may be different but their lifestyles are not, have meant that their status did not indicate economic stratification (Clastres, 1987).

In this chapter, "ayahuasca entrepreneurism" refers to a set of responses to the dynamics of increased ayahuasca tourism and the marketing strategies used to attract such tourism. This phenomenon has resulted in the proliferation of shamans, ayahuasqueros, tourist lodges, and agencies that provide the ayahuasca experience alongside a plethora of other secondary businesses that participate in this rise in popularity and demand. Here, entrepreneurism reflects smaller-scale activities than those normally associated with high-profile entrepreneurism (e.g., the creation of Apple, Inc.), thus incorporating micro-businesses and enterprises. In taking heed to Keith Hart's (1975) call that the use of "entrepreneur" be refined, here I refer to entrepreneurs as leaders who exercise particular "aspects" of their roles (Barth, 1963, p. 6), whereby they assume risk and implement initiative, anticipating and taking advantage of market opportunities as they arise, and often "manipulate other persons and resources" to meet their ends. In referring to the entrepreneurial role, I highlight the opportunistic features of that push toward profit maximization, whereby profit can also include enterprises listed as non-profit organizations, such as various nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), eco-ventures, and charitable institutions. I also emphasize how entrepreneurism is a cultural process (Greenfield & Strickon, 1981) that reflects consumer targeting and desires, and the social and political milieus and principles to which these businesses abide and in which they operate.

It is useful here to explore ayahuasca as being part of an "entrepreneurship ecosystem," a term that I borrow from Isenberg (2010) and modify to reflect an anthropological approach to the ayahuasca industry. For Isenberg, an entrepreneurship ecosystem consists of the complex combination of "individual elements – such as leadership, culture, capital markets, and open minded customer. . . . In isolation each is conducive to entrepreneurship but insufficient to sustain it" (Isenberg, 2010, p. 3). I view such elements as already being informed by and shaping one another so as to reflect the fluidity, mixture, and unboundedness of culture. An ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem would need to include indigenous and nonindigenous individuals, groups, and organizations, and the nations/states in which they reside, and be a crucial mechanism for the ayahuasca diaspora. These entities, or "stakeholders," can be favorable or inhibitive for entrepreneurships to prosper.

There is a scant, yet growing, literature on the anthropology of entrepreneurship (Stewart, 1991). Historically and currently, much entrepreneurism is studied within the context of large-scale organizations (Casson, 1986; Oviatt, McDougall, & Loper, 1995). Yet, more recently, it has been located in the individuals who craft local forms of livelihood amid processes of global capitalism (Dolan & Johnstone-Louis, 2011; Sanchez, 2012; Meisch, 2013). It is in this latter vein that I explore the unfolding entrepreneurism surrounding ayahuasca. Here, I suggest that ayahuasca tourism and ceremonies have generated a series of profit-based opportunistic small businesses that, as a whole, link into the larger, broader industries, such as adventure travel (Palmer, 2002), international tourism (Becker, 2013), and the New Age movement (Davies & Freathy, 2014). To illustrate how such small-scale entrepreneurism emerges and expands, I elaborate by focusing on the Tambopata Province of Madre de Dios, Peru – one of many regions that attract ayahuasca tourists – and then broaden the analysis to include the international market for ayahuasca.[4]

Amazonian and international frontiers

The Tambopata Province is the largest of three provinces in the department of Madre de Dios. Its economy is based on the extraction of raw materials, including gold mining and timber, as well as forest products, such as Brazil nuts. Tambopata is designated as a biodiversity "hot spot," comprised of the Tambopata National Reserve and the Bahuaja-Sonene National Park. These form part of a "mega-corridor" aimed to tie together Bolivian and Peruvian protected areas (Bennett & Ader, 2004). Thus, ecotourism is a major growing industry in the province. In 2005, in the Tambopata Province, ecotourist lodges brought in U.S. $6 million out of U.S. $11.6 million spent on Peruvian rainforest ecotourism, of which U.S. $3.8 million were local revenues, i.e., funds transacted in Tambopata (Kirkby et al., 2011). Ayahuasca, once a decidedly local practice, has exploded alongside this environmental economy sector.

Only 30 years ago, the ayahuasca usage landscape was starkly different. In the 1980s, the information for nonlocals who were interested in experiencing ayahuasca was scarce, and very few people were openly known as ayahuasqueros. In 1983, a nonlocal European man who lived in Puerto Maldonado, the capital of Madre de Dios, was one of the first nonlocals to be interested in taking ayahuasca. He explained how it was not a straightforward process in those days to encounter people willing to talk about ayahuasca. After trying to determine who knew how to prepare and drink the brew and whom he could approach, he was eventually directed to two men, a *Tacana* and a *ribereño*, both living in the Ese Eja native community of Infierno.[5] When he first went to the community to search for either of these men, he met an Ese Eja man who was serendipitously approaching the ribereño ayahuasqueros to drink for the very first time, an experience they shared together. Although the eco-lodges in Tambopata now boast that ayahuasca is an ancient Ese Eja tradition, Ese Eja, like many other indigenous groups, recently learned to drink ayahuasca from nonindigenous others (Alexiades, 2000).

In the 1980s, there were also several mestizos and one well-known Shipibo ayahuasquero, now deceased, with the characteristic frontal-occipital skull deformation of Shipibo-Konibo peoples who also practiced in Puerto Maldonado. When I interviewed his daughter-in-law, she explained that "gringos" never came to see him, yet patients arrived from elsewhere. Surely there were numerous other ayahuasqueros that were unknown to outsiders, and certainly in some of the indigenous communities such as Tres Islas, where the practice continued among Shipibo, with one younger ayahuasquero who continues to drink to date. Yet, there was generally much silence around ayahuasca's use, and it certainly would have been challenging for travelers to come across ayahuasqueros.

The silence and secrecy that once effusively surrounded ayahuasca practices is understandable considering that municipal officials, the Catholic Church, and evangelical groups have systematically condemned the practice of ayahuasca drinking (Dobkin de Rios & Grob, 2005; Tupper, 2008). Such demonization of the practice certainly continues to inform attitudes of rural and townsfolk toward both ayahuasca and its participants. The crucial step in normalizing ayahuasca in the Madre de Dios region was the emergence of AMETRA 2001 (Aplicación de Medicina Tradicional), an indigenous health project aimed at integrating local health beliefs and practices with basic aspects of primary healthcare (Cueva, 1990, Alexiades & Lacaze, 1996).[6] Although drinking ayahuasca was not a specific aim of the program, the program did aim to support and revitalize shamanism. The project was modeled after AMETRA-Ucayali and counted on the participation of Shipibo shamans, whose presence gave prominence to the use of ayahuasca in shamanic practices and resulted in the training of shamans as ayahuasqueros. By 1986, the project had spread throughout Madre de Dios, and it cast ayahuasca, alongside other indigenous treatments for health and illness, in a positive and popular light. It is in the AMETRA era that various indigenous individuals who did not customarily drink ayahuasca began to do so with more frequency. During my own fieldwork visits, I witnessed the training of Shipibo, Ese Eja, Hauchipaere, and Amahuaca individuals as ayahuasqueros, as well as others. Ayahuasca practices were focused on community health and healing, but with the eventual changes that were to come, a few individuals began to drink with tourists; and one

of these ayahuasqueros began holding ayahuasca ceremonies in Cusco, a prime South American tourist destination.

Nationally, tourism began to surge after the election of Alberto Fujimori as President of Peru in 1990, the subsequent renegotiation of foreign debt, and the defeat of *Sendero Luminoso* and the *Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru* (MRTA) activities.[7] These actions encouraged international investment as the country invested in their transportation infrastructure, thrusting Peru toward a tourist boom (Desforges, 2000) that has not stopped since. Tourism to the Tambopata district benefitted from these changes particularly, as international interest in the rainforest movement also gained momentum, and international conservation organizations became more active in South America. Furthermore, the 1990s was a catapult decade for technological and communications innovations that served to bridge the temporal and spatial distances between places as geographically remote as Tambopata and the rest of the world, a transformation referred to as a "time–space compression" (Harvey, 1989), and critical to globalization processes.

Further, gradual changes in attitudes toward ayahuasca in the 1990s emerged from two principal directions: the flourishing tourism lodges ("eco" or otherwise) that began to prosper; and the small but influential migration to Puerto Maldonado of individuals and their families, which was unassociated with previous migrations related to the "gold rush" (mining) or poverty alleviation strategies. Such a migration was in distinct juxtaposition to Andean migrants who began to arrive to Tambopata in the late 1960s, and increasingly in the 1980s, mostly due to state incentives, population pressures, landlessness, poverty, or to economic booms, such as the "gold rush" or lax regulations on timber extraction (Serra-Vega, 1990; Fraser, 2009). This small but different wave of migrants opened small businesses and embraced the benefits of living in an Amazonian town. They also tended to show interest in rainforest conservation and the struggles of indigenous peoples.

The setting in the 1980s – when there were only two lodges and no other touristic operations apart from a few freelance guides who only sporadically obtained work by standing at the small airport whenever a flight arrived – has changed significantly. In fact, the airport, formerly a one-room tin-roofed structure, was replaced by a more seemingly modern structure. By 2008, there were 37 ecotourism lodges (Kirkby et al., 2011); and since then, at least a dozen more have opened, as Peruvian legislation increasingly grants private concessions for conservation or ecotourism ventures. As nonlocal individuals increasingly traveled to the Amazon in search of ayahuasqueros, the lodges began to offer an option to drink ayahuasca with their own ayahuasquero, someone they kept in-house or at hand, or by transporting guests to the ayahuasquero's home or center.

The increase in tourism, lodges, and the influx of people has had a significant impact on how the ayahuasca experience is perceived locally. Although conservative Christian beliefs against the ritual still prevail, seeing it as the work of the devil, their influence has lost its grip against the encroachment of other views. The fact that national visitors and international tourists were seeking out ayahuasca prompted local peoples and businesses to perceive it as something valuable. Consequently, ayahuasca began to be viewed as a potentially lucrative source of income whose demand by outsiders helped to validate its legitimacy. This meant that more people wanted to become openly associated with ayahuasca, including many who had no prior interest or knowledge about it, and this also served as a catalyst for the current proliferation of ayahuasqueros and their apprentices.

The entrepreneurial drive

Accordingly, ayahuasca became much more accessible, less secretive, and more readily available via individuals and lodges. Whereas it was once lone travelers who made their way to seek an ayahuasquero, burgeoning tour guides and tourist lodges soon began to bring tourists together with ayahuasqueros. In such scenarios, there is a wide array of participants who may potentially come together for the ayahuasca experience, and with ever-increasing chances that they are inexperienced. In both urban and rural areas, individual homes and lodges began to make themselves available as part of an ayahuasca ecosystem, offering their spaces and attempting to gather together basic levels of expertise. Such accommodations range from small and basic to large and luxurious; they can be individually or family owned, partly owned by an indigenous or ribereño community or owned by a larger consortium of partners. They can thus cater to backpackers, affluent visitors, and anyone in between.

Locally, the critical nucleus for an ayahuasca ceremony had usually been the patient and the healer. This could also include assistants and family and community members. In such a setting, there is little that resembles a formal business, apart from the fact that services are rendered and some form of compensation, usually voluntary, eventually follows. Yet in the specialized centers, one sees the full gamut of ayahuasca entrepreneurship and, in the larger lodges, one is struck by the way that the ayahuasca experience is offered to tourists as readily as a bird-watching activity or hiking event, mostly through a language that exoticizes its features, e.g., "ancient," "tradition," "magical," etc. (Labate, 2011). By the 1990s, some ayahuasqueros began to seize the opportunities that adventure tourism presented by starting to operate lodges or healing centers on their lands, or purchasing or renting lands for such purposes. In the case of the Tacana ayahuasquero mentioned earlier, he reorganized his homestead to make space for sleepover guests and put up a large wooden plaque upon which he painted his name. He also sporadically asked his son to help with transportation, but for the most part, at the age of 84, he still runs a solo business. Most other ventures are often family-based but also employ workers such as cooks and cleaners. Having a lodge or center also broadens the extended involvement of tour agencies, tour guides, additional tourist attraction activities and sites, botanical and artisanal producers and markets, boat and taxi drivers, and social media and business Internet sites. I would classify this type of interest and expansion as small-scaled entrepreneurism, wherein the growth of the business comes from an existing livelihood.

The eco-lodges in the Tambopata area represent much larger-scale entrepreneurism than the ventures I have just described. Lodges openly advertise ayahuasca ceremonies as one of many possible activities that their guests may participate in.

Some lodges have been exclusively set up with ayahuasca retreats in mind (Fotiou, 2010). Furthermore, these lodges have a strong presence on the Internet via their own websites or other websites that cater to tourism. Often, visits to these lodges are also part of larger tourist industry packages (Kirkby et al., 2011), and at least three of these lodges own or have commercial ties to tourist agencies in Cusco or Lima. Further, income can also be garnered from government conservation concessions and grants (Kirkby et al., 2011) and from certification accreditation for behaving as model eco-tourist businesses (Cater, 2006; Jamal, Borges, & Stronza, 2006). These larger operations employ a retinue of managers, guides, boat drivers, bus drivers, airport greeters, cooks, cleaners, and several others.

The lodges and centers specifically set up to capitalize on the ayahuasca boom are strongly linked to the New Age movement, either through their ownership or their clientele. In the last two decades, Peruvian nationals and non-Peruvian entrepreneurs, not local to Madre de Dios, founded a majority of these lodges; they often incorporate a local partner, though more usually, a caretaker. This trend is also common in other parts of Peru (Fotiou, 2010; Holman, 2011; Labate, 2011) and reflects the ability of nonlocals or foreigners to better access cash, and therefore to seize such entrepreneurial opportunities. A frequent origin narrative among a subset of more recent newer lodges is that the owners were greatly enthused by ayahuasca visions and were thus inspired to permanently move to the place where they had their ayahuasca "awakening" (Doyle, 2006, p. 14), an experience in which one experiences their own "divinity" (p. 13) and that stirs one to dedicate his or her life to a greater spiritual quest. I have commonly witnessed ayahuasca tourists return to Tambopata with messianic zeal, believing that they were "chosen" to save the world, which is not necessarily negative as long as it is rooted in an understanding of local reality and is not detrimental to others. In one case, a woman sold her home, gave up her career as a professional musician, and arrived ready to open a lodge. By the time she got a clear sense of how everything worked, all of her money was gone. Cases of post-ayahuasca-session-euphoria have been amply documented both historically (Gearin, 2015) and contemporarily; a memorable example is the case of an Englishman who returned to Peru to follow his ayahuasca vision using his substantial cash savings to build a seven-story floating wooden pyramid hotel/cultural center, only to watch it disintegrate into driftwood (Mann, 2011). Yet several lodges designed as ayahuasca centers, having a separate *maloca* (ritual house) for the ceremony, are successful, especially when they take time to allow their businesses to develop and thus attain a better sense of local culture and how things are best situated. These lodges will seek their own shaman, and the owners themselves are often interested in becoming neoshamans: nonlocal ayahuasqueros. It is common for them to apprentice with the ayahuasquero in residence.

Ayahuasca lodges and ceremonies are also advertising in New Age periodicals and websites, as well as in blogs and social media. On many of these websites, individuals share their spiritual awakenings and indirectly entice others to follow suit. In order to sell rooms and tour packages, lodges are registering with service websites such as Trip Advisor and Booking.com, where consumers can, in turn, give feedback. Other websites, such as Aya Advisor (http://ayaadvisor.org), cater specifically to ayahuasca tourist interests so that travelers can post reviews based on various aspects of their ayahuasca experiences.

International ayahuasca tourists began to organize ayahuasca sessions in their home countries, flying in their shamans and hosting workshops. At these workshops, attendees pay per person and the funds are divided differentially to cover the ayahuasquero's travel and associated expenses, yet also allow him or her to return with a stipend that usually ranges in the thousands, if not tens of thousands, of dollars. In the latter cases, particularly in places like California, arrangements are made for ayahuasqueros to hold rituals with celebrities who demonstrate their appreciation monetarily (Labate, 2011). In addition, the host's costs are usually also covered. This, too, ranges differentially; whereas some hosts are only covered for the expense of hosting such an event, others derive a percentage for their efforts. Such entrepreneurial efforts serve to create an international market for both ayahuasca and ayahuasqueros.

In Tambopata, the ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem has had various negative impacts on local populations who have long depended upon ayahuasqueros for purposes of health. These changes are part of a comparatively pan-Amazonian response to international ayahuasca tourism, and the resultant processes of commodification and appropriation of their practices, that entails local peoples' inaccessibility to ayahuasqueros due to tourist obligations, the legitimacy of practices, the sanitization of rituals for Western purposes, and a host of health and safety issues affecting both locals and tourists (Hutchins, 2000; Labate & Cavnar, 2004; Peluso, 2006; Tupper, 2009; Davidov, 2010; Holman, 2010; Labate, 2011; Homan, Chapter 8 in this volume; Tupper, Chapter 9 in this volume;). These impacts further exacerbate economic differences in local populations, and also vis-à-vis nonlocal participation in the commodification of cultural practices, a point I will return to.

If one considers that ayahuasqueros now also travel abroad, and that Westerners have also become ayahuasqueros and thus have their own tour and retreat schedules, then the level of participation expands yet further, as such activities are welcomed and endorsed by adventure travel and the New Age movement. Such New Age interests endorse a variety of shamanic retreats and training workshops, courses, and centers. Furthermore, the growing international popularity of Brazilian religions that use ayahuasca as a sacrament need to also be taken into account when considering the spread of ayahuasca's popularity. Add to this the sales, both on- and off-line, of the ingredients for brewing ayahuasca, and an array of other products and paraphernalia – such as raw tobacco rolls (*mapacho*), *agua de florida*, music CDs of ayahuasquero chants (*icaros*), textiles (such as Shipibo cloths, noted as reflecting the geometric patterns common in ayahuasca visions), jewelry, drawings and paintings – and there is further incentive to promote, produce, and reproduce ayahuasca practices. If one searches for ayahuasca ingredients and paraphernalia on the Internet, the pages go on and on.

Another entrepreneurial design has been the development and the sale of pharmahuasca[8] or its equivalent, a synthesized form of ayahuasca (Ott, 2011; Araújo et al., 2015) with a strong underground market that services various ayahuasca

sects who prefer to ingest ayahuasca this way (Anonymous, personal communication). In addition, there is an arena of legal specialists who endeavor to protect ayahuasca's usage, the academics who write about ayahuasca, and the NGOs that support its use and practices – thus, there is a significant assemblage of livelihoods that come together to form this industry, ranging from a small household or community in Amazonia to financiers on Wall Street or celebrities in Ibiza.

It is therefore not only ayahuasca's spiritual status but also entrepreneurial efforts that have assisted in the ayahuasca experience emerging amidst a globalized set of activities. This flourishing has also inspired local NGOs that are concerned about the rapid proliferation of ayahuasqueros, many of whom are considered to be untrained. As an ayahuasquero in Tambopata explained, he is also disturbed by neoshamanism and the fact that many of the nonlocal peoples who are taught for short periods of time consider themselves to be bona fide ayahuasqueros. Furthermore, some local ayahuasqueros resent that Westerners come to apprentice them and then return to their own countries to earn money from their craft (Razam, 2014); this may also destabilize the local ayahuasquero's importance in the international ayahuasca network. Yet, established ayahuasqueros are just as concerned by the proliferation of indigenous ayahuasqueros as they are of foreign ones. Their concern is with anyone who is inexperienced and insufficiently trained, as they view this as impacting the quality of both the ayahuasca and the healing practices, and thus the reputation of their profession. In the case of Colombia, as a result of the gathering in 1999 of the most esteemed *yageceros* (ayahuasquero shamans) and community representatives, a declaration, code of ethics, and alliance among them was founded: the *Unión de Médicos Indígenas Yageceros de la Amazonía Colombiana* (UMIYAC) (the Union of Indigenous *Yagé* Healers of the Colombian Amazon), an alliance among Ingano, Kofan, Siona, Kamsá, Coreguaje, Tatuyo, and Carijona.[9] Similar alliances, such as the Consejo de Yachak Runa Amazónico del Ecuador (Yachak Runa Amazonian Council of Ecuador) are aimed to preserve cultural and professional integrity.[10]

Ayahuasca cosmopolitanism

Ayahuasca tourism and its diaspora has also fostered a strong embracement of cosmopolitanism – a shared moral and philosophical commitment to "the primacy of world citizenship over all national, religious, cultural, ethnic and other parochial affiliations" (Beck & Sznaider, 2010, p. 6) – creating a sense for ayahuasca tourists that they are all part of a singular utopian community. In many cases, this creates blindness on the part of ayahuasca seekers toward the social and economic differences between Amazonians and non-Amazonians. The rising cosmopolitanism of ayahuasqueros has much to do with the capitalistic entrepreneurial ecosystem in which all participants partake and its focus is on urbanism. When ayahuasqueros first began to travel, their consumption of novelties was at first experimental; yet eventually, a political positioning was dynamically asserted through consumption and capital investment amid families, communities, and cities that embraces cosmopolitanism – indigenous, ribereño, mestizo, or otherwise.

The income and travel perks amassed while traveling abroad, where ayahuasca workshop prices are considerable, is often used to purchase an urban home or the land and infrastructure for a local lodge. Indeed, several ayahuasqueros I have interviewed have funded their lodges from money earned abroad, and they continue to travel when needed to bolster their funds (see also Labate, 2011).

Concern for well-being among practitioners and users of ayahuasca has recently spurred further entrepreneurship and niche marketing. Some lodges advertise only female shamans as a way of safeguarding against potential sexual impropriety (Peluso, 2014); others emphasize further details about the ayahuasqueros they use, as well as a series of safety guidelines and more comprehensive details. Ayahuasca seekers can also find an abundance of information via a plethora of user-friendly websites that offer valuable information, such as AyaAdvisor.org, Plantaforma, Steven Beyer's SingingtothePlants.com,[11] and other organizations such as the International Center for Ethnobotanical Education Research & Service (ICEERS) (see De Loenen, Parés Franquero, and Sánchez Avilés, Chapter 11 in this volume), who offer a comprehensive set of safety guidelines, as well as general and scientific information. Following such readily available services, a new NGO, the Ethnobotanical Stewardship Council (ESC), has also surfaced with the self-appointed mission to "protect people who work with this medicine [ayahuasca]" and to set up guidelines for practice so as to provide a comprehensive certification or "assurance" at the retreat center level, so that ayahuasca seekers and tourists can differentiate the market (Wickerham, Percival, Flaming, & Keller, 2014, pp. 13, 65). Although the organization claims to build broad consensus, its mission is based on the needs of Western consumers; and indeed, the idea for this organization emerged from the founders' attendance at the Psychedelic Science 2013 conference in California. Organizations like the ESC, with the support of its fiscal sponsor, the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelics Society (MAPS), reflect a common feature of ayahuasca entrepreneurism and the ayahuasca diaspora: that they seem to mostly financially benefit outsiders and target their efforts toward the well-being of Western clientele rather than the communities from where ayahuasca practices emerge, although their discourse and marketing are pitched as being concerned with the well-being of these communities. An examination of the ESC board and field-workers reflects a lack of field expertise and knowledge about local ayahuasca beliefs and practices, given their large sweeping mission. Their emergence as self-acclaimed authorities is symptomatic of the over-optimism that sometimes accompanies a variety of entrepreneurial forms (Dosi & Lovallo, 1997). It is not unlike the proliferation of poorly trained ayahuasqueros and is reminiscent of the messianic qualities of novice ayahuasca visionaries mentioned earlier. While it makes sense that the conference attendees who inspired the ESC had concerns about ayahuasca safety, even though many of them may not even see ayahuasca tourism as part of the problem, it was the concerns of Western conference-goers that were expressed, *not* the concerns of Amerindians. While larger eco-tourism businesses might view a certification scheme as beneficial, and they may be well positioned to acquire and market such a competitive advantage, the scheme would simultaneously prejudice those

smaller ventures that do not have the necessary Western-appealing infrastructure. There are serious challenges surrounding the complexity of identifying legitimate authorities, actors, voices, and criteria if an organization like the ESC were to place their brand on the ayahuasca market. Apart from reservations relating to viability and ethical considerations, or even the desirability, of whether devising effective measures of "transparency," "efficacy," and "safety" with regards to participation in ayahuasca sessions is even suitable or possible, the ESC's scheme will unwittingly draw lines across the Amazonian landscape between those their organization would deem as legitimate actors and those they would not.[12] In turn, certification, as proposed by an NGO like the ESC, would offer a discriminative marketing tool; this tool would be discriminatory by default, as some organizations would gain a competitive edge in a world where there is already a marked disjuncture between what transpires in the spoken, material, and visible realities, and the unspoken, intangible, and invisible worlds.[13] Such entrepreneurism makes sense for Western ayahuasca tourists, and would likely exacerbate tourism levels, but it makes little sense within the broader social, political, and cultural contexts in which the majority of local ayahuasca practitioners live and operate.

Ayahuasca entrepreneurism needs to be analyzed as part of the colonial legacy and postcolonial context from which it sprang forth, and within which it continues to be shaped. Economic growth and prosperity have been uneven across all sectors of society, and indigenous peoples and their lands have suffered at the behest of a long history of extractive industries, including rubber and, more recently, oil and gas companies. Indeed, in particular instances, entrepreneurship has been associated with piracy because, similar to pirates, entrepreneurs may sometimes appropriate value that they themselves have not created, thus unsettling processes of supply and demand (Dent, 2012, p. 29). As I have discussed, entrepreneurial efforts range from the most grassroots homestead, where profits are more localized, to larger tourist agencies and organizations that see an opportunity to find their niche, make their mark, and make money while the profits are garnered and stored elsewhere. As the ayahuasca ecosystem expands, ayahuasca tourists search for this "way of life" . . . and are ironically creating more "ways of making a living."

Conclusions

There is a wide range of existing and potential forms of ayahuasca-related businesses that comprise an ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem and contribute toward the making of an ayahuasca industry. This chapter has argued that such entrepreneurship is clearly linked to ayahuasca's widespread global use, referred to in this volume as the "ayahuasca diaspora." In my discussion of the emergence of ayahuasca businesses in the Tampobata province of Madre de Dios, Peru, from the 1980s through to the present, I address the transformations that have taken place locally over time – mostly the emergence of international tourism, local entrepreneurship, and the international popularity of ayahuasca, alongside local

perceptions of ayahuasca use and the political changes in Peru affecting both migration and tourism. In doing so, discussions of neo- and post-colonialism are inevitably linked to such transformations, particularly as profits are streamlined outside of local areas while the labor, expertise, and intellectual property of local peoples and their lands are disadvantageously appropriated.

The ayahuasca entrepreneurial ecosystem – whose participants range from individuals and groups, and whose enterprises range from the most rustic local homesteads to large tourist agencies and international networks and organizations – briskly responds to the increasing intensity of capitalist supply-and-demand dynamics. Within such a growing ecosystem, where both access to goods and resources and the capital to invest in them are unevenly available, local peoples are systematically disadvantaged. It is difficult for them to competitively engage in ways that do not compromise the integrity of their ayahuasca practices, whether it be because their ayahuasqueros are with tourists or are too busy traveling, or because there is a plethora of undertrained self-acclaimed ayahuasqueros who are not effective healers or social mediators. As ayahuasqueros multiply as a response to indiscriminate demand and they become more customer- and consumer-oriented, both locally and in their travels, and as ayahuasca seekers become more product purchase-oriented, exchange is as unequal as the "structures of economic development that underpin the global circulation of designated 'exotic' goods" (Huggan, 2002, p. 15). As such, the emerging forms of entrepreneurism and cosmopolitanism of the ayahuasca industry participate in an historically ongoing economic neo-colonization of South America in ways that privilege nonlocal profits and benefits. Scholars note that, when nation-states are formed after long periods of imperial dominance, such as in Latin America, they recurrently become "managers for Western enterprise" as part of broader processes, whereby the generation of wealth happens abroad – or as Fanon crudely states, "in practice set[ting] up its country as the brothel of Europe" (Fanon, 1965, p. 154). With practices such as ayahuasca, when the market becomes determined and controlled by nonlocals, forms of the old colonialist practices emerge in these various entrepreneurial opportunities to find a market niche and generate profits. The tensions between "the official end of direct colonial rule and its presence and regeneration through hegemonizing neo-colonialism within the First World and toward the Third World" (Shohat, 1992, p. 107) is historically structured in these global relationships. The ayahuasca diaspora is aligned with the tendency for goods to flow from the "south" to the "north" (or also, toward powerful nationals); and, while it holds the promise of the great global transformations precipitated by many of its forerunners, such as rubber or quinine, it should also be heeded that this diaspora does not consist of similar patterns of exploitation and disruption as did some of its predecessors. Further caution is also due to how ayahuasca entrepreneurism may contradict some of the core values associated with ayahuasca that it seeks attain, uphold, and "sell."[14]

The sweeping technological, transportation, and communication advances and ensuing changes across the globe, reflecting a "time-space compression" (Harvey, 1989), have been critical to globalization processes which minimize the temporal

and spatial distances between Amazonians and other people, places, capital, products, processes, and ideas. Such bridging has also meant that practices such as ayahuasca rituals become part of the flows of trade, migration, and movement of people and ideas. Yet, alongside this intensification of social relations[15] and the greater dissemination of knowledge and beliefs, particularly through increased travel and diasporas of practices, is a greater potential for its appropriation and exploitation – to the extent that economic dominance overtakes what would otherwise be a more equally negotiated set of transformations that all culture and its effects undergo as part of the human condition.

Whereas innovation is a motor for change, it can also inspire entrepreneurs to push too hard and too fast. Ayahuasca entrepreneurism can also encourage excess and poor judgment, like the bundling together of a variety of Amazonian and Andean plant rituals and uses, such as San Pedro cactus (*Echinopsis pachanoi*); datura (various *Brugmansia species*); *kampo* venom (*Phyllomedusa bicolor*); tobacco (*Nicotiana*) in various forms such as eaten, snuffed, ingested, and as purges; and marketing them as part of this growing ayahuasca industry (see Labate, 2014). Such mix-and-match marketing is effective among the New Age groups who have a penchant for combining traditions.[16] Notwithstanding, entrepreneurism is a human outlook and practice that is poised to partake in any competitive market opportunity. As I have described here, ayahuasca cosmo-capitalist endeavors hold significant possibilities toward fostering increasing inter-connectedness, but they also have escalating tendencies toward redefining the terms of business among an already unequal set of relations. Here, it is critical to understand that local and global ayahuasca entrepreneurs portray their products and activities as being "good" and intricately engaged in spiritual-seeking endeavors, which ultimately redefine and determine the outcome of such practices in ways that, inevitably, also reflect capitalism, globalization, and the postcolonial predicaments.

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Notes

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2 This research is based on over 25 years of ethnographic participant-observation research in Amazonia, particularly in the Madre de Dios region of Peru and the Pando and Beni regions of Bolivia. For this study, I used targeted interviews with ayahuasqueros, ayahuasca-related entrepreneurs, and ayahuasca participants.

3 Some scholars suggest that the veneer of danger was part of a strategy to ensure compensation from the European colonial powers (Mabry, 2002).

4 Peruvian cities such as Iquitos, Tarapoto, and Pucallpa are also popular ayahuasca-seeker destination sites.

5 Tacanas are indigenous Amazonians (Takána language family). *Ribereños* are Amazonian people of mixed European and Amerindian ancestry who are native Spanish speakers.

6 AMETRA-Ucayali was founded in 1982 by Guillermo Arévalo, a Shipibo shaman/ayahuasquero who began teaching youth in over 100 communities how to identify plants and prepare remedies to treat common health problems, such as intestinal parasites, diarrhea, and dehydration. Guillermo, his father Benito, also a shaman, and other established shamans came to Tambopata to assist with the AMETRA 2001. In an interview with the Tacana ayahuasquero of Infierno, he references an AMETRA workshop on ayahuasca (though not by name) in Tambopata to explain how he became inspired to use ayahuasca for healing, after having previously learned to drink ayahuasca among Bolivian woodworkers in the 1950s for personal use only. The important role of Didier Lacaze, as co-founder of AMETRA 2001 and health advocate dedicated to indigenous health issues, is often underplayed in the history of how ayahuasca spread in the Tambopata region.

7 See Homan, Chapter 8 in this volume, for a comparative analysis regarding historical changes in Iquitos, Peru.

8 Pharmahuasca contains crystalline N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) plus harmine, as well as combinations of other psychoactive tryptamines with other β-carbolines (Ott, 1999).

9 See the Amazon Conservation Team (ACT) website: http://amazon.dead-city.org/umiyac.html

10 See www.ecured.cu/index.php/Yachak

11 See, for instance, Beyer's risk management plan for lodges: www.singingtotheplants.com/2012/10/you-cant-call-911-in-jungle/

12 See www.ayahuasca.com/amazon/statement-critiquing-the-ethnobotanical-stewardship-council-esc/

13 See Cater (2006) for a viewpoint on the Western construction of ecotourism and her reflection on how certification schemes "may be used to further enfranchise the powerful tourism companies" (p. 26).

14 See West and Carrier (2004) for a similar discussion regarding the ecotourism milieu, and Western projections and ideals concerning natural environments and the people who live there, further linking such values to neoliberal institutions.

15 See Rosaldo (2002) and James (2006) for broader discussions in non-Amazonian contexts.

16 This mixing of traditions as a means to achieve market diversification may, unfortunately, be associated with the increase in ayahuasca-related accidents.

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